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3 March 1962

The Honorable Dean Rusk The Secretary of State Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Rusk:

I am writing in reply to your letter of 15 February 1962 regarding the removal of travel restrictions for Soviet exchange visitors and tourists in the United States.

The viewe of this agency remain essentially the same as those contained in Mr. Dulles' letter to you, dated 16 June 1961. The addition of the phrases in the last paragraph of your letter, regarding the requirement for advance notification for long-term exchange visitors, would appear to improve somewhat the control factor for internal security in the United States. Assuming substantial reciprocity on the part of the Seviet Union, there would appear to be material intelligence and psychological benefits accruing to the United States from such action.

As you know, the Federal Bureau of Investigation is the agency responsible for internal security of the United States, and I am sure that you will wish to obtain the views of its director before a policy decision is made.

Since rely,

State Dept. review completed

(Signed) JOHN A., McCONE

John A. McCone Director

Drafted by DD/P Final form O/DCI/JSE/mfb

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ATTACHMENT "A"

SECRETARY OF STATE RUSK'S LETTER, 15 FEBRUARY 1962

Excousive Registry

THE SECRETARY OF STATE WASHINGTON

62-1300

SECRET

February 15, 1962

Dear Mr. McCone:

I refer to my letter of June 9, 1961 to Allen Dulles concerning the restrictions on travel by Soviet citizens in this country and to his reply of June 16, 1961. At the time, we had considered removing travel restrictions on Soviet exchange visitors and tourists. We have refrained so far, however, from taking any action.

Now that we are engaged in current negotiations for the conclusion of a new US-USSR Exchange Agreement, we thought it timely to reconsider this question within the United States Government. We have been struck once again by the comparative lack of success which our closed areas policy has had in terms of the exchange program. Our present assessment is that we should now seriously consider proceeding with the abolition of the travel restrictions for exchange visitors and tourists. We would, of course, retain adequate controls over Soviet travel in this country by continuing the arrangements among the various Departments concerned, as well as with the USIB exchanges committee. In this way, itineraries of Soviet exchange visitors and tourists would be coordinated and approved as before. We continue to believe that the net propaganda impact of abolishing the restrictions would be greatly in our favor and are considering recommending to the President that he might make the announcement himself.

With my letter of June 9 there was enclosed a draft memorandum to the President. Our views remain basically the same as set forth in this memorandum, another copy of which I am enclosing. The only exception is that we now favor keeping the notification requirement for long-term exchange visitors in order for us, as well as the Department of Justice, to remain aware of the movements of such individuals and also, if necessary, to refuse travel on occasion.

I would

The Honorable
John A. McCone,
Director of Central Intelligence.

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I would appreciate your letting me know whether there have been any changes in the Central Intelligence Agency's views since last summer.

Sincerely yours,

Dean Rusk

Enclosure:

Suggested memorandum for the President.

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SUGGESTED MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESTDENT

Subject: United States Travel Restrictions

We have been reviewing our restrictions on the travel of Soviet citizens in this country in the hope of finding a new approach which would strengthen our political and propaganda posture without damage to our essential security needs.

Our restrictions were imposed in 1952 as a means of retaliating against long-standing restrictions on the travel of American citizens in the USSR. Originally applied only to Soviet officials, they were extended in 1955 to all Soviet citizens other than those who are members of the UN Secretariat. Closed zones, modeled on those in existence in the USSR, were also established. This followed adoption by the National Security Council of NSC 5427 which provided that "restrictions should be placed upon diplomatic and official representatives of Soviet bloc countries in the United States on the basis of strict reciprocity for restrictions placed upon U.S. representatives in each Soviet bloc country."

In 1957, the United States proposed to the Soviet Government that closed zones be abolished on a basis of reciprocity. Subsequently, we have repeated that proposal several times and have also suggested partial elimination, again on a reciprocal basis. The Soviet Government has never replied officially to these proposals.

Our review

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Our review has indicated that our previous efforts to use our travel restrictions as a bargaining lever with which to exert pressure for a lessening of Soviet restrictions have been largely ineffective.

Moreover, the passage of time has resulted in a blurred impression abroad of Soviet responsibility for the initial imposition of travel restrictions. This has tended to remove any incentive the Soviet Government might once have had to consider a reciprocal reduction of restrictions.

We believe that we might obtain significant propaganda advantages at this time by emphasizing our traditional devotion to the ideals of an open society. The contrast between our willingness to operate in the open and the traditional Soviet passion for secrecy could most usefully be exploited, we believe, by focusing on the concept of closed zones. It is even conceivable that a sufficiently dramatic proposal to reduce the present travel restrictions could prod the Soviet Government into some easing of its restrictions on American travel in the USSR.

If you agree, therefore, we propose to abolish the system of closed zones as they apply to exchange visitors and tourists from the Soviet Union. The present restrictions on Soviet Government officials and correspondents permanently assigned to the United States would, however, be maintained. By virtue of our continuing control over the itineraries of exchange visitors and tourists we would retain virtually

the same

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the same degree of effective control over Soviet travel as we do now. We would also preserve our bargaining position on strictly official travel, which may be of assistance in attempting to ensure reciprocity for our officials in the USSR. We would announce such a decision as a modest but forward-looking step in the direction of more normal relations with the Soviet Government and invite it to respond to our initiative. If the Soviet Government should respond in a positive fashion, we would, of course, consider further modifications in our system of travel restrictions.

ATTACHMENT "B"

- 1. DULLES' LETTER, 16 JUNE 1961
- 2. SECRETARY OF STATE'S LETTER, 9 JUNE 1961

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ER 61-4768/a

June 16, 1961

The Honorable Dean Rusk The Secretary of State Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Dean:

I am writing in reply to your letter of June 9, 1961, on the subject of our restrictions affecting travel of Soviet citizens in the United States. In effect, the proposal is to abolish the system of closed zones in the U.S. as they apply to exchange visits and tourists from the Soviet Union, but to retain the present restrictions on Soviet government officials, etc.

If the raising of restrictions became reciprocal, which would permit freer travel of American citizens within the Soviet Union, I believe it would be to the overall advantage of the U.S. If, however, there are no eventual relaxations on the part of the Soviet, it would be a question of weighing the policy advantages which the State Department might find in the proposal, as contrasted with the security problems which such a relaxation would bring with it. The latter is a matter for those responsible for our internal security, which is not within the scope of our own duties.

As you appreciate, Soviet citizens are only allowed to come to the U.S. when the Soviet considers it to be to their own advantage to permit it and all such Soviet visitors are, to some extent, to be viewed as agents of the Soviet government.

I can see a possible advantage in relaxing from time to time travel restrictions which might affect the various exchanges which we negotiate with the Soviet Union so as to permit specific exchange parties to visit areas in closed zones in the United States appropriate to the particular objectives of their missions. This might lead, in time, to a defacto widening of areas permitted to

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our own visitors to the Soviet Union even though there were no formal agreement on either side. Possibly this could be done on an "ad hoc" basis without a general waiver of the restrictions.

I appreciate that basically the matter is a policy one for the Department of State to determine.

Faithfully yours,

/s/

Allen W. Dulles
Director

O/DCI/AWD:at

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